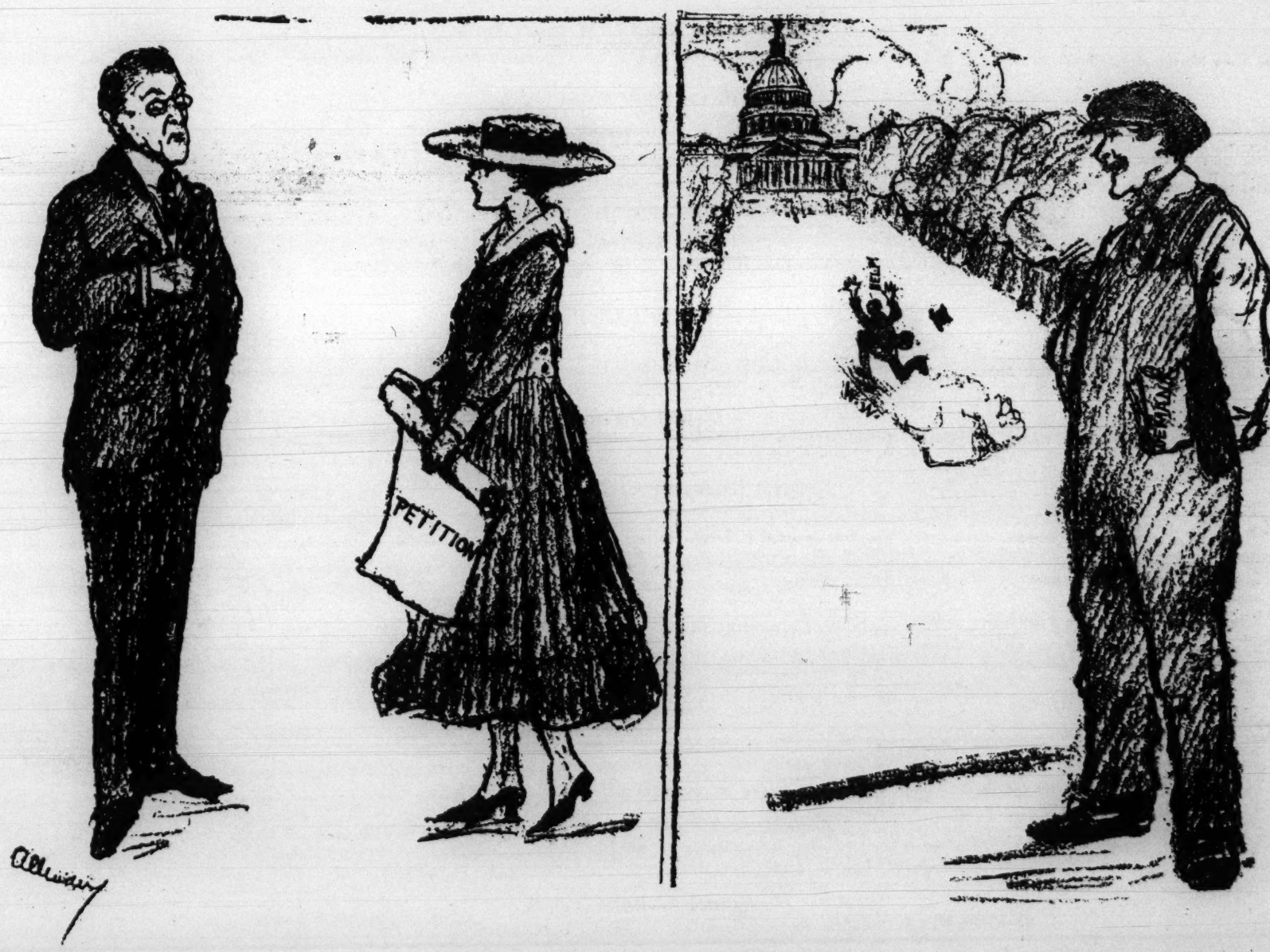
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SEPTEMBER 9, 1916



Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Suffragists and Strikers

It Makes a Difference!

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

AND

National Woman's Party

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Colors—Purple, White and Gold

OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
and of the National Woman's Party
Lafayette, Square, Washington, D. C.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1916

Notes of the Week

Congress Now Adjourned

HAVING completed the administration pre-election program, Congress adjourned September 8, without taking action on the federal suffrage amendment.

National Suffrage Association Decides to Continue State and Federal Work

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association in convention at Atlantic City this week voted to continue its policy of carrying on both state and federal work. A resolution interpreting the constitution of the association to mean that the submission of the federal amendment is the immediate and principal aim of the association, and that all state work is merely in preparedness to that end, was introduced by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the association, and passed by the convention. It was decided that any organization not desiring to work for the federal amendment would be allowed to remain in the association, provided it does not work against the amendment. It was further decided to remove the national headquarters to Washington until such time as the federal amendment is passed by Congress.

The following officers were elected:

President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; first vice-president, Mrs. W. McNab Miller; second vice-president, Mrs. Stanley McCormick; third vice-president, Miss Esther Ogden; recording secretary, Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Frank Shuler; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; first auditor, Miss Heloise Mayer; second auditor, Mrs. Patty R. Jacobs.

Mr. Parsons Urges Suffragists to Support Hughes

MR. HERBERT PARSONS, in addressing the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association on September 9, spoke of suffrage as "the greatest issue before the country today" and urged the women to support Mr. Hughes. Mr. Parsons represented the Republican party, Mr. Raymond Robins the Progressives.

Woman Congressional Candidate Supports Federal Suffrage Amendment

MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN, Republican candidate for Congress from Montana, has in her platform a pledge to represent in Congress the children of the nation and another to work for the federal suffrage amendment. She says that, if elected, she intends to show Congressmen that women know how to vote.

It was under Miss Rankin's leadership that the equal suffrage referendum in Montana in 1914 was carried to victory.

Miss Rankin has always advocated the federal amendment. During the winter of 1914 she did a great deal of valuable lobbying in Congress for the bill.

Two New Suffrage Periodicals Announced

TWO new suffrage publications have been announced during the summer. They are *The Vanguard*, the organ of the National Council of Women Voters, and the *National Suffragist*, published in Chicago. This increasing number of suffrage periodicals is indicative of the ever rising interest in the subject.

Democratic Congress Imposes New Taxes on Women

THE Washington *Star* of September 10 publishes a statement of Senator Simmons, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, on the federal revenue law passed by the Senate before adjournment.

"While no detailed estimate has been submitted to me by the experts of the Treasury Department since the final passage of the bill, I have been informed that the new law will raise approximately $200,000,000," said Senator Simmons.

The Democratic administration, while absolutely refusing to aid the political freedom of women in any way, has imposed upon them enormous new tax laws.

Recommendation to Drop Word "Obey" in Marriage Service

THE elimination of the word "obey" in the marriage service was recommended to a commission appointed by the general convention of the Episcopal church to revise the prayer-books.

Maine Soldiers to Vote on Mexican Border

THE department of state of Maine has shipped to the Mexican border 1,400 state election ballots for the citizens, who, because of military service, will not be able to cast their votes at home.

While men are given every opportunity to exercise their privilege of voting, extraordinary means are always employed to withhold from women this fundamental right.

Women of Holland Demand Franchise

ON JUNE 18, says the *Woman's Dreadnaught*, there was a great suffrage demonstration at Amsterdam, Holland, demanding that Dutch women be given the franchise. The demonstration started with a procession and ended in an open air meeting with an audience of eighteen thousand people.

Mrs. McClung now Working for National Franchise

MRS. NELLIE L. McCLUNG, whose interesting article, "Suffrage in Canada," appears on page four of this issue, is well known in both this country and Canada for her lectures and books. She took an active part in the recent victorious campaign for equal suffrage in the province of Alberta, and is now enlisted in the fight for the Dominion or national franchise.

Mrs. McClungs best known works are "Sowing Seeds in Danny," "The Black Creek Stopping House," and "In Times Like These," a collection of essays on problems of the day.

SUFFRAGE IN CANADA

By Nellie L. McClung

PEOPLE in England, and in the States, where the suffrage agitation has been carried on so long and arduously, hearing that the vote has been granted to the women of three western provinces of Canada, anxiously ask, "How did they get it so easily?" —and they write to us pleading for the secret.

Then we begin to wonder ourselves how it all came about.

It began in Manitoba, many years ago, when the W. C. T. U., under the able leadership of Dr. Amelia Youmans, long since gone to her reward, began to organize societies, and hold meetings. At these meetings, timid little ladies in black nervously declared that taxation without representation was tyranny; and other revolutionary sentiments. Nobody took much notice of them at first and they grew a bit bolder. Sometimes a debate was held, and a real wave of discussion rolled over the little town or community, and then rolled back into peace and serenity again.

A suffrage society was formed in Winnipeg twenty-five years ago, and the first secretary of it was Miss E. Cora Hind, now financial editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, published in Winnipeg, and a woman who has contributed largely to the woman's cause. When men pompously declare that figures confuse women, the unanswerable argument is, "What about E. Cora Hind, acknowledged to be the best crop expert in Canada?" Miss Hind has talked, written and lived suffrage, and at the same time earned the reputation of being one of the best cooks in the country, and one of the most kindly of women.

One party in Manitoba advocated woman suffrage; the other opposed it. Thus suffrage became a straight party issue.

"The Premier said he was too old to change his mind. We could not change the Premier's mind," said suffragists; "so we tried to change the Premier."

Suffrage has been won in *three* provinces of Canada. Now women are working for the Dominion (or national) franchise. "Voteless, they could be ignored. But not now."

The first suffrage society did splendid work for some years, but it seemed impossible to make woman suffrage a live issue until the year 1914. The year before, a society had been formed in Manitoba, called the Political Equality League; and its initial meeting had been so largely attended that it was a surprise to the workers. Dr. James L. Gordon, pastor of the First Congressional Church, was the speaker.

In December of that year a public debate was held and great enthusiasm marked the occasion.

In January of 1914 the League decided to send a delegation to the Government, and solicited help from all societies who were favorable. There were five speakers, representing the W. C. T. U., the Grain Growers, the Trades and Labor Council and the Scandinavian Society, as well as the League.

Every avenue of escape was shut up as far as arguments went. There was not a loop-hole left, and the audience which packed the house wondered what the Premier could say in reply.

The Premier was ready. He declared that he liked women far too well to see them plunged into the dirty mess of politics. He declared that he loved his mother and she had never wanted to vote, and he went on to say that if he gave the vote to us intelligent women, he would have to give it to servant girls; whereupon there were indignant cries of "Why not?"

Nothing could have done more good to the cause than this reply. It made us many friends.

The next night in the largest theatre in the city, there was given a play entitled "The Woman's Parliament" by the League, which burlesqued the whole thing. In it a delegation of men came seeking the vote from the Parliament of women, and urged many reasons for extending the franchise to the sterner sex. The woman Premier stood firm. "It was not because she did not love men well enough," she said, "but because she loved them too well. Man's place was to pay the bills. Politics might unsettle men, and unsettled men meant unsettled bills, and that struck at the very foundation of the home and the home was the bulwark of the state."

She quoted statistics to show that men more frequently broke the law and therefore should not be allowed to vote; and the absurdity of it all appealed to the audience who made their own application.

Suddenly woman suffrage became talked about. Debates sprang up in Epworth Leagues and College Societies, and invitations poured in on us to address meetings.

In March the Liberal Opposition met in convention and an invitation was given to two of us to go and address the convention, which we gladly did.

It was a sight to remember when the convention of thirteen hundred men endorsed woman suffrage and put it in their platform. The Government and their newspapers were very scornful; they said woman suffrage was supported only by "short haired women and long haired men"; they called it a "fad and a fancy," and sneeringly said that the best women were not asking for the franchise.

Thus it became a straight party issue. The Conservative Government opposed it: the Liberal Opposition said, "If we get into power we will give it to you."

We acepted the challenge and went to work for the Liberal party. The Premier had told us that he was too old to change his mind on woman suffrage; so we said that as we could not change the Premier's mind, we would try to change the Premier.

It was a great campaign, lasting two months. Everybody worked. Ministers preached politics from the pulpits, and strong Government supporters went out and slammed the door. The Government papers bewailed the decay of pure religion and undefiled, and called the ministers "yellow pulpiteers;" but the good work went on. Manitoba was tired of machine politics; also there were rumors of grave misappropriation of public moneys.

When the returns came in on election night, the Government was returned, but by such a narrow majority that within ten months they broke down, and the Liberals were asked to form a cabinet. Two months later they went to the country and were returned by a majority of 45 to 5. At their first session the woman suffrage bill was passed, January 27, 1916.

In Saskatchewan, there was no great struggle, for the Government was Liberal in name and character, and the Grain Growers, a splendid body of men, had declared for both the temperance measure and woman suffrage; and when the women, banded together in a Franchise Board, went before the Government, they were assured that a bill would be forthcoming.

In Alberta there was only one real suffrage society, the Equal Franchise League of the city of Edmonton; but the Local Council of Calgary had done splendid suffrage work. These two societies had secured 40,000 names on a petition which they presented to the Government, September, 1914, and were given reason to hope that when the time came to amend the franchise act, the women would not be overlooked. In February, 1915, a delegation of nine hundred people went before the Government of Alberta and presented the claims of women suffrage. The Premier spoke pleasantly but committed himself to nothing. But in August of the same year he announced his intention of offering a bill which would place women on an exact equality with men. This he did at the last session, moving the reading of the bill himself. The leader of the opposition seconded the motion, and all went merry as a marriage bell.

The new voters of the western provinces are now looking for the Dominion franchise.

The Dominion Government is Conservative, and Conservative governments have not been favorable to the woman's cause. Not one advance has been made yet, except from Liberal governments, which is rather noticeable; but most governments stand for one firm principle, that is, for re-election; and now that the women of the West have the provincial vote, they may find favor in the eyes of even a Conservative Dominion Government. Voteless, they could be ignored. But not now.

Congress Adjourned—No Action on Suffrage Amendment

CONGRESS adjourned on Friday, September 8, after four years of Democratic rule.

In these four years, the Democratic party has controlled the Senate, the House, and the White House. Their responsibility for the work of Congress has been undivided.

For these four years, women have been constantly entreating Congress to pass a federal suffrage amendment, so that it might be presented to the state legislatures for their consideration.

What has the Democratic party done for women's enfranchisement?

In the Sixty-third Congress

The President

refused to support the federal suffrage amendment and declared his personal opposition to it.

In the Senate

The suffrage amendment was pushed to a premature vote, on March 19, 1914, by two Democratic Senators (Senator Thomas of Colorado and Senator Ashurst of Arizona), who had it in charge, a year before Congress closed; although a nation-wide demonstration in support of the measure was in preparation at the time. Senators Thomas and Ashurst publicly stated, before the vote was taken, that the amendment had not enough votes for passage.

The vote of the Senate on the amendment was 35 for and 34 against. It failed by only 11 votes of securing the necessary two-thirds' majority.

Twenty-seven per cent of the Democrats, 47% of the Republicans, 100% of the Progressives, voted for the amendment.

In the House

Democrats on the Rules Committee, by a party vote, defeated (January 17 and January 24, 1914) a resolution creating a committee on woman suffrage in the House of Representatives.

A caucus of Democratic members of the House refused (February 3, 1914) to rescind this action, and by a vote of 123 to 57 passed a resolution declaring that woman suffrage was not a federal question.

The Democratic floor leader, Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, said in the House (February 4, 1914), "The Democratic Party last night took the distinctive position that it was not in favor of this legislation (the federal suffrage amendment) because it was in favor of the states controlling the question of suffrage. * * * I not only said I was opposed to it, but I said the party on this side of the chamber was opposed to it; and the party that is in control of the legislation in Congress certainly has the right openly and above board to say that it will not support a measure if it is not in accordance with its principles."

Democratic members of the Rules Committee blocked the suffrage amendment in committee until after the congressional elections in November, 1914.

The vote in the House on suffrage was 174 for, and 204 against. 31% of the Democrats voted for the amendment; 64% of the Republicans; 100% of the Progressive Republicans; 93% of the Progressives; 100% of the independent membership.

If as great a proportion of the Democrats as of the Republicans had voted for suffrage a two-thirds' majority in the House would have been secured. But more than two-thirds of the Democrats voted *against* suffrage, reducing the vote to such a point that the amendment could not have secured a two-thirds' majority if every member of every other party had been present and voted "Yea."

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Liberty (Stepping from the Capitol Dome): "No Award!"

In the Sixty-fourth Congress

The President

reiterated his opposition to the federal suffrage amendment.

In the Senate

no effort was made by the Democratic party to pass the suffrage amendment through Congress.

In the House

the administration leaders on the Judiciary Committee forced a single vote upon all constitutional amendments, including the suffrage and prohibition amendments, and by uniting the opposition to all of them secured a majority against the report of the federal suffrage amendment, *although a majority of the individual members of the committee favored such a report and had openly gone on record as doing so.*

Chivalry for Suffragists

SUFFRAGISTS are living in a new age of chivalry. Nobody could have foretold it—at least nobody did foretell it—but by a sudden stroke of fortune women leaders have become the most popular people in the country. They are courted with an assiduity by the politically rich and the great which would have brought envy to the eyes of a lovely medieval princess.

Events have not shaped themselves so satirically within a blue moon. Here are women who three or four years ago were treated almost as common pests by the bland politicians. Only by weeks of scheming could the suffrage lobbyist obtain a hearing from the Senator or Congressman. To get into the presence of the great man was in itself an accomplishment. To obtain oracular reply from him, something that might be twisted into a favorable meaning, was a veritable triumph.

And look at the picture today. Senators and campaign managers of high and low degree are falling over each other in an effort to show their appreciation of the woman voters. The shoe is on the other foot. The politician is just as anxious to obtain the support of the enfranchised women as the suffragists were a brief while back to secure the pledge of the influential leader.

Current events will have their little joke. * * *

The Great Opportunity

Marvelous is the opportunity which destiny has thus given the suffragist. She comes into the political arena full grown like the Athenian goddess born of the brain of Zeus. She has an intelligent conception of what she wants from the government. * * * She wasn't fed on the tariff nor on free trade as an infant. Her forcible separation from civic responsibility has been her strength; it has brought to her a detachedness, a chance for independence denied most men. She is footloose, free, able to go in the direction of her heart's desire. And everybody wants her! * * *

The 4,000,000 women voters—the magic phrase which the Woman's Party has used so skillfully—are, of course, not all suffragists. The bulk of them will vote as the mass of men vote. They will be influenced by the same old motives of associations and of friendships.

But the vital few, the small minority to whom the campaign managers pay court, they will make the great decision. * * *—*Chicago Herald.*

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.

In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Consistency?

IN a speech which closed with the words, "You can afford a little while to wait," President Wilson stated that woman suffrage was bound to prevail.

"Women have seen visions of duty," said the President, in part; "and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist."

No word of explanation was added of the reasons which have actuated President Wilson in resisting the movement for woman suffrage in Congress with such obstinacy as to prevent even its consideration, for two years, on the floor of the Senate and the House.

"I get a little impatient sometimes," Mr. Wilson said, "about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail." "Yet the President," comments the New York *Evening Post*, a pro-Wilson paper, "has heretofore explained in the strongest terms his own profound concern over the method by which suffrage should win forward, and his objection to its attainment by means of a federal amendment.

"'I am tied to a conviction which I have had all my life that changes of this sort ought to be brought about state by state,' he declared January 6, 1916. 'It is a long-standing and deeply matured conviction on my part, and therefore I would be without excuse to my own constitutional principles if I lent my support to this very important movement for an amendment to the constitution of the United States.'"

Doubtless the women who heard Mr. Wilson wanted to tell him that they, who were denied justice by his discussions of method, were a good deal more impatient over them than he could possibly be.

And where in the speech last Friday was Mr. Wilson's "reckless enthusiasm for human liberty?" There is no recklessness discernible in his suggestion that, *because* the strength of the suffrage movement is so great, women can afford "a little while to wait."

What About the Democratic Suffrage Plank?

MR. WILSON accepted the Democratic nomination for the Presidency on Saturday, September 2. From a review of his four years' activity in the White House, all mention was omitted of the efforts women have made to secure his support of national woman suffrage, and his own obstinate refusal. In "pointing with pride" to the St. Louis platform, President Wilson made no reference whatever to the suffrage plank which Senator Walsh assured the convention the President considered "vital to his success." He did not repeat his promise made recently to the women of Colorado that he would further, in every way that he "properly and legitimately" could, woman suffrage state by state; nor explain how he meant to go about doing it. He ignored the whole issue—perhaps the greatest issue before the world in this century.

Certainly two great movements—the social liberation of women and of the working people—constitute the deepest forces of our times. The forces behind the woman's movement have come very close to Mr. Wilson for four years. He has presented to them a solid wall of old-fashioned prejudice. He has met the great human urgency of the suffrage movement with constitutional and technical objections which would not bear one moment's serious consideration; and when women, respectfully standing in his presence, wished to explain to him that there were not even good legal grounds for his opinion, he declared, as he did in New York, that he "did not wish to go into that"; or as in Washington, that he "did not consider it proper that he should subject himself to cross-examination."

Out of the experience of the American people with Mr. Wilson is emerging very clearly the conviction that he is very obstinate when confronted with an argument, and very weak under pressure of circumstances.

In dealing with the President women have learned that they cannot rely upon the spiritual strength of their case. They must organize such political strength as they possess and use it frankly and directly against Mr. Wilson as long as he continues to block their way to freedom.

"Wait," Says Wilson

ON Friday, September 8, President Wilson spoke at Atlantic City before a convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and declared his belief in woman suffrage. He made no attempt to explain why, if he believes in woman suffrage, he has for four years consistently opposed it in Congress; and he did not promise, directly or indirectly, that he would relax his opposition in the future.

The President said:

"I have found it a real privilege to be here tonight and to listen to the addresses which you have heard. Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself, but I should feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you tonight and say some of the things that have been in my thoughts as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

Rapid Growth of Suffrage Movement

"The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history.

"Two generations ago, no doubt, Madam President will agree with me in saying it was a handful of women who were fighting this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting it. And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you. One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyer's history.

"There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the American could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

"And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question, and is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women. Those prominent in that day are so few that you can almost name them over in a brief catalogue, but nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing not only, but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America; and after the civil war had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system, the life of the nation began not only to unfold but to accumulate.

"Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the civil war. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Dr. Davis has told tonight were uncommon in those simpler days.

Suffrage Has Come to Stay

"The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil did not exist in America in anything the same proportions that they exist now. And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities, and the cool spaces of the country have been supplanted by the feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions—questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations, but their moral and spiritual relations to one another.

"And this has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades, and as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence, the movement which this association represents has gathered cumulative force. So that if anybody asks himself, 'What does this gathering force mean?' if he knows anything about the history of the country, he knows that it means something that has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power.

Impatient with Discussion of Method

"I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail. It is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because the women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist.

"So that what we have to realize in dealing with forces of this sort is that we are dealing with the substance of life itself.

"I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight against anybody, but with somebody. I have come to suggest, among other things, that when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood.

"We feel the tide: we rejoice in the strength of it and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it. Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for the mass to follow. I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will, beyond any peradventure, be triumphant and for which you can afford a little while to wait."

This is the first time Mr. Wilson has addressed a suffrage meeting. He has been invited to attend other suffrage demonstrations and gatherings at Washington, but except for the delegations which have visited him at the White House, he has declined until last week to do so.

His journey to Atlantic City to make a speech on suffrage at a suffrage convention, indicates how necessary Mr. Wilson feels it is at this critical period of his election campaign to counteract, by some conciliatory public statement, the effect of his prolonged hostility to the suffrage amendment in Congress.

Senator Pittman and the Vote on Suffrage

SENATOR PITTMAN, of Nevada, read into the *Congressional Record* on September 4, a telegram from Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the Woman's Party, urging him to join with other Democratic Senators in asking President Wilson to secure, even at the eleventh hour, a favorable vote on the suffrage amendment, as he had on the Child Labor bill.

The telegram read:

"As chairman of the National Woman's Party and legislative chairman of the Congressional Union, I earnestly ask you and all other Democratic Senators to urge President Wilson, as leader of the Democratic party, responsible for legislation in Congress, to secure a favorable vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment, as he did on the child labor bill, and ask you to have this telegram read into the *Congressional Record*, as you know we have long been ready for a vote at any time, provided the President and the Democratic majority in Congress will support the amendment, as they are the only power in the country which can secure its submission. A premature vote without this support would only mean defeat, which is, as you know, why we urged delay in the Senate in June. The adjournment of Congress without passing the amendment will constitute a record of hostility to the political freedom of American women on the part of the party in power."

ANNE MARTIN, *Chairman,*
National Woman's Party.

Senator Pittman has previously attempted to suggest that Miss Martin and the Woman's Party were working to prevent a vote on suffrage in the Senate, quoting, to prove this extraordinary assertion, a letter sent to western Senators by Miss Martin in June, in which she asked that no vote be taken on the amendment at that time.

This letter of Miss Martin's was written after Senator Thomas, of Colorado, who had the suffrage amendment in charge, had stated in the Senate that he would bring it up for a vote as soon as possible, announcing at the same time that if it were voted upon, it would lose by a heavier majority than in 1914.

Facing, as the amendment did, the organized hostility of the party in power, it would certainly have failed to pass if put to a vote in June; which was exactly the reason why Miss Martin and the Woman's Party wished action deferred.

A vote against the federal amendment in the Senate in June would have ended all hope, then and there, of passing it this session. Miss Martin, in the purest justice to the Democratic party, as well as in the plain interests of the bill, wished to give Mr. Wilson and his colleagues the fullest possible opportunity, right up to the last day of the session, of dealing with it favorably.

That Senator Pittman thoroughly understood Miss Martin's motive, he showed very clearly when he himself objected to the consideration of the measure on January 24, 1916.

Of this parliamentary move, THE SUFFRAGIST said (February 12, 1916):

"It is desired that the measure should not come to a debate and vote in the Senate until the most favorable time for its adoption. Its friends in the Senate, therefore, have planned to secure its postponement; and Senators Gronna, Pittman and Smoot, by their objections to immediate consideration, have acted in the interest of the bill.

"Miss Anne Martin, who is in general charge of the management of the measure, and in conjunction with whom the friends of the resolution in the Senate are working, states: 'It should be understood that the resolution is being protected by its friends when its consideration is objected to, in order to have the debate and vote at a time favorable to the adoption of the resolution by the Senate.'"

CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEMOCRATIC

I VOTED for Wilson in 1912, but I shall not vote for him in 1916," says Dr. Frances M. Lane, of Cody, Wyoming.

That women voters will certainly not return to power the party which has denied them justice is plain. Throughout the West women are standing together under the banner of "Suffrage First."

Democratic Women of Wyoming Join

Miss Maud Younger, a gifted speaker, much loved for the work she has done for women, is telling the story in Wyoming of the struggle eastern women have had for the ballot. "At Torrington," Miss Younger says, "I spoke at the county fair. I had to compete with the races, a circus show, a fortune teller and a row of booths. But about three hundred people came to our tent.

"They were so interested when I told them of the hostility shown national suffrage by the Democratic party. Before we left nearly all of them signed Woman's Party pledges — even Democratic women in great numbers signed."

Woman's Party Booths Opened at Kansas State Fair

Indoor meetings in the morning, county organization in the afternoon and street meetings at night is the program in Kansas. Mrs. K. C. Roberts, of Kansas City, was recently elected chairman of the newly formed organization in Wyandotte county. Riley County, in the fifth district, was organized September 1, with Mrs. C. B. Daughters as chairman.

A great Woman's Party rally was held in Kansas City on Wednesday of last week. Miss Kathleen Taylor and Miss Katherine Morey were the speakers. Announcement was made of plans to open Woman's Party booths at the state fair at Topeka, September 11 to 16, and at the fair at Hutchinson, September 18 to 22. There will be continuous speaking at these booths, distribution of literature and sale of SUFFRAGISTS.

WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE WEST!
Hear the Appeal of the Voteless WOMEN of the EAST!
Rose Winslow
A Polish Miner's daughter, a Mill Hand in Pennsylvania from the age of 11 until disabled by sickness at 19 THE SPEAKER.
COME
Learn Why We ask You to VOTE AGAINST National Democratic Party.
(RUZA WENCLAW)
MEETING FREE!
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

Poster Which Drew Great Crowds of Interested Women to the National Woman's Party Meeting in Colorado

Five Districts Organized in One Week

In the last week five congressional districts of Illinois—the 12th, 14th, 15th, 21st, 19th—organized branches of the National Woman's Party.

Series of Street Meetings in Salt Lake City

State headquarters have been opened by the Utah branch of the Woman's Party in Salt Lake City. Miss Margaret Knepper, of Boise, Idaho, has been aiding the organization work there. She was the principal speaker at an organization meeting held recently at the home of Mrs. E. M. Garnett, of Salt Lake City. At this meeting the following officers were elected:

Mrs. T. L. Holman, chairman; Mrs. R. A. Sermon, secretary; Mrs. Ida Applebaum, treasurer; Mrs. William McCrea, Mrs. Elizabeth Coray, Mrs. Frank Evans, Mrs. J. R. Davis and Miss Emma Lindsay, executive committee.

A series of street meetings in Salt Lake have been greeted by the townspeople with much sympathy and interest. Mrs. Garnett's automobile, decorated with purple, white and gold, is surrounded almost before it stops by an eager crowd, waiting to hear again the story of woman's last fight for political freedom.

Woman's Party in Fields of Arizona

Miss Pierce writes from Arizona that "Woman's Party" is spread all over the state "in every vacant spot." "Everywhere your eyes turn," she says, "you see goldenrod, some curious purple flowers and white daisies—a truly thrilling sight."

Miss Helen Todd, a speaker of national fame, and Miss Vivian Pierce, both from California, with Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas, are busy completing the precinct organizations of the state.

Miss Calderhead is typical of a great many young western women who have enlisted in the western suffrage movement. She announced recently that she had resigned her position as teacher of literature in the high school of Wichita and would devote all her time to the National Woman's Party campaign. Miss Calderhead is a daughter of Congressman Calderhead, of Kansas.

"Odds Against President Wilson"

"Odds are against President Wilson and the Democrats," says a Seattle newspaper. The clipping goes on to tell of the fight among the women of that state against Mr. Wilson and all Democratic candidates for national offices. It adds that it looks as if the entire state will be marching under the banner of purple, white and gold on election day.

A county organization meeting was held September 1, in the Aberdeen Public Library. Mrs. James S. McKee, wife of Mayor McKee, of Hoquiam, introduced the speakers, Miss Julia Hurlbut and Miss Agnes Campbell. She urged the women present not to return to the presidency or Congress members of a party which had persistently blocked the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. Many of the women present joined the Woman's Party and pledged themselves to vote against the Democratic party in November. It was arranged that a meeting of the

PARTY IN THE SUFFRAGE STATES

Miss Emily K. Perry addressing a street crowd in Salt Lake City

members should be held at the library next morning and permanent officers elected for the county. Accordingly, Miss Belle France, of Aberdeen, was elected chairman, Mrs. Bessie Taylor, of Aloha, and Mrs. T. L. Douglas, of Aberdeen, vice-chairmen.

Miss Campbell was asked to speak at a meeting of the Ladies' League of Hoquiam the same day. It had been called to discuss candidates and measures to be voted upon at the election, and Miss Campbell's exposition of the Democratic party's record on national suffrage greatly interested her audience. Many of the women told her after the meeting was over that their vote would be cast in the interest of women only—*against* the Democratic party.

Democratic Record on Suffrage Scattered Broadcast

The temporary headquarters of the Oregon branch of the Woman's Party, at the Carlton Hotel, Portland, is the centre of the state activities so far. From there various organization plans have been directed, meetings arranged and literature distributed.

Miss Emma Wold, of Portland, has sent letters all over the state informing men and women of the adverse stand of the Democratic party on suffrage and urging that a telegram or letter be sent to President Wilson protesting against the stand he has taken on the issue. From the number of people who have complied with this request, it looks as if President Wilson can expect very little support from the women of Oregon.

A most enthusiastic meeting was held September 5, at the home of Mrs. Otis Wight. Mrs. Wight is a sister of Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the National Woman's Party.

Nevada Women United for "Suffrage First"

Organization of the western and southern counties of Nevada is almost complete. Miss Mabel Vernon and Miss Alice Henkle, with the help of Miss Helen Hefferman of Goldfield, and Miss Grace Mahan, have organized Nye, Esmeralda, Clark and Lincoln counties.

In Tonopah, August 24, a meeting was held in the Odd Fellows hall and officers elected and a committee chosen to represent Nye county. Mrs. Mabel Davis was elected chairman.

Miss Henkle writes, "The women of Nevada are splendid. They say, 'We want to cast our first ballot for President in a way that will do the greatest good to women, and that will be against Mr. Wilson and Democratic candidates for Congress.'"

In Las Vegas at the Methodist Church on August 30, the Clark county branch was formed with Mrs. Helen Stewart, one of the splendid pioneer women of the Nevada, as chairman.

On September 1, Miss Henkle went to Pauaca, a beautiful little settlement of Latter-Day Saints. She found there was to be a 'quilting bee' in the afternoon at the Relief Society rooms, so she got two boys to go out on a horse and distribute handbills to every woman in the town asking her to come to the meeting and hear the Woman's Party speaker. "They came—all of them," said Miss Henkle.

"While they worked on the quilt, I told them of the great movement that western women are making toward enfranchising the women of America. They were so interested and so eager to help! Every one of them told me she would vote against Mr. Wilson, unless he did something for women's political freedom before Congress adjourned. One asked for Woman's Party membership cards to distribute among her friends, and in a moment they were all asking for the cards, for literature, and anything else I could give them that would help other women see the great opportunity that lies before them to use their first votes for their sisters in the East."

Mrs. Otis Floyd Lamson

Washington Chairman of the National Woman's Party

Mrs. Kent Appeals to Voting Women of California to Oppose Mr. Wilson

While Congressman Kent, of California, is campaigning vigorously for President Wilson, Mrs. Kent is just as earnestly opposing the President and Democratic candidates for Congress. The position of Mr. Wilson on the suffrage issue is responsible for their difference of political opinion.

Mrs. Kent has sent the following appeal to all women of California:

"Mr. Kent, although he considers himself a good suffragist, is supporting President Wilson in spite of the latter's hostility to the national suffrage amendment. I am opposing Mr. Wilson because of his hostility to the freedom of American women. Men will not put woman suffrage first, therefore we women must. I appeal to all women voters of California to refuse to support Mr. Wilson and to stand by their disfranchised sisters in so doing."

And thus the most momentous force in the political history of America is being launched in every district of all the free states.

The Democratic party will soon have to face the reckoning.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

The Truth About Mr. Wilson

MR. WILSON claims and has claimed ever since his election to be in favor of votes for women; but he has done nothing to give them votes. He has not only not supported the proposed constitutional amendment, but he has positively discouraged it; taking the stand of southern Congressmen that this is a matter that should be settled state by state. There will be no federal amendment submitted during this or any other administration of Mr. Wilson. If Mr. Wilson should be elected again, he would again stand with the south, which is solidly opposed to woman suffrage.—*Phoenix (Ariz.) Republican.*

No "Sex Line"

THE Woman's Party conference in Colorado Springs therefore will be a meeting of no small importance to the present campaign. It means a definite and fixed effort to align the women voters of the equal suffrage states in a cohesive voting unit for the November election, and there is no doubt of the fact that in those states this effort will have its effect. * * *

The Woman's Party is not being organized to vote as women for women, but to vote as women for the candidates and the party which more nearly represents the thing they are striving to accomplish. It's not the drawing of the sex line, it's merely the natural alliance of those who believe in suffrage to remove the sex line from political eligibility.—*Wichita (Kansas) Beacon.*

A Clean-Cut Issue

THE issue is clean cut. Mr. Hughes on the one hand has boldly declared for the program outlined by the suffragists; Mr. Wilson on the other has definitely and finally refused to accept it. * * *

But, nevertheless, the Colorado Springs conference will mark another achievement for the Congressional Union; and it may be the last, for it may bring about the result for which they are fighting.—*Colorado Springs Gazette.*

From the Indianapolis News

She's a Great, Big Girl Now

Mr. Charles E. Hughes Takes Advanced Position in Declaring for Universal Suffrage

MR. CHARLES E. HUGHES, Republican nominee for the presidency, has taken an advanced and common sense position in advocating the adoption of the universal suffrage amendment, which has been presented to Congress, thereby demonstrating that he has not lost his progressive ideas during his six years upon the supreme bench. * * *

Leaving party politics altogether out of the consideration of this matter, it is apparent he will draw to himself the support of the enfranchised women of this country and of the supporters of woman suffrage, who believe that suffrage is a national question and not one for individual states to decide.—*Nevada State Journal, August 2, 1916.*

A Paramount Issue

WHILE a national amendment for woman suffrage may not be the paramount issue in this campaign, it will be accepted as a grateful change from the discussion that was on before the national convention was held. Nor is it at all impossible that it will be a paramount issue; for the President is making the states' rights plea, and states' rights *vs.* nationalism has never held a second place long, no matter over what the issue was raised.—*Des Moines Register.*

Women Will Support Hughes

MR. HUGHES' declaration will doubtless have a very material effect on the election. There are now twelve states in which women have the right to vote, and it goes without saying that the majority of them will use that vote in favor of the man who they believe will further their interests in submitting a federal amendment for woman suffrage.

The squirming and dodging of Mr. Wilson on the question will not only lose him the majority of the female vote but it will also cost him the votes of thousands of men who want an executive to face vital questions in a straightforward manner. Mr. Wilson would gain more among the majority of voters by a plain statement of yes or no on the proposition than by following his well-known policy of straddling the fence.—*Douglas (Ariz.) Dispatch.*

The President's Mind

THE ladies are entirely justified in keeping at the President until he changes his mind on the suffrage question, for he has a changeable mind.—*Philadelphia Press.*

Squarely Before the People

THE great human question of suffrage for women is now up for the last time. Fortunately for all of us it is squarely before the people, and equally fortunate it is that to the Republican party will be due the everlasting honor and glory of enfranchising the women of America. * * *

The *New American Woman* favors the amendment to the constitution of the United States. The argument must close and the question be decided. * * *—*The New American Woman (Los Angeles, California.)*

"Interfering" with the States

ABOUT the only argument that has been urged against an amendment to the constitution giving the women the right to vote is that such action would be interfering with the rights of the states. In some quarters we have been told that "the South does not want" such an amendment. * * *

Certainly the women of the entire country are not to be made the victims of the local difficulties existing in the South or anywhere else.—*Sacramento (Cal.) Union.*

The "Drop" on Mr. Wilson

EVERY now and then, among the tired and sleepy arguments which Mr. Hughes' declaration for equal suffrage by federal amendment has called from their beds, one notices the fresh face of a little stranger. He may not be strong enough to stand without the aid of a chair, yet his mere newness is often engaging. As in this specimen: "No political step in a republic could be more evil in its consequences than the threat of the women voters of western states to use their unified vote as a 'big stick' to force suffrage on women in other sovereign states." This might be the point of view of an anti, an old-fashioned woman, who if she must submit to the suffrage would rather have it forced on her by the men of her own household, or state, than by women she does not know. A like point of view might belong to an anti who cared so much for her state rights that she would do anything but vote to maintain them. As a matter of fact, however, the quotation is from a letter written by a state-by-state equal suffragist, a male, a Southerner, a Democrat whose love of states' rights is heightened by his fear that Mr. Hughes has got the drop on Mr. Wilson.—*The New Republic.*

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Mr. J. N. McFate.....	1.00
Mr. Elijah Allen.....	1.00
Mrs. A. S. Johnson.....	.50
New Jersey branch Congressional Union	5.80
Mrs. Eugene Stevens.....	1.00
Collection	21.10
Membership fees	16.26
Total	8,039.16
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	147,482.39

National Headquarters Receipts:

Total collected by National Headquarters through September 4, 1916.....	$155,521.55

Contributions made to Illinois Headquarters:

Mrs. Bertram Sippy.....	10.00
Miss Ella Abeel	2.50
Mrs. Sherwood Anderson.	3.25
Miss Ruth Tuttle.....	2.00
Miss Ellen Schmidt.....	5.00
Mrs. S. O. Smith.....	.50
Mrs. Hogenson.....	.25
Miss Mary E. Sennis.....	5.00
Miss Cornelia Wyse.....	3.15
Mrs. James Frothingham.	5.00
Mrs. L. Brackett Bishopp	7.50
Mrs. W. L. Robinson.....	10.00
Mrs. Franklin	1.00
Mrs. Anna L. Case.....	50.00
Mrs. Clara Louise Burnham	5.00
Mr. John T. Bassett.....	25.00
Miss Lillian Brearton.....	1.00
Mrs. S. J. Cady.....	1.00

Contributions made to New Jersey Headquarters:

Mrs. John A. Lefferts...	3.00
Mrs. Abram J. Rose.....	15.00
Mrs. W. B. Boulton.....	15.00
Mrs. R. M. Laird.....	11.70
Vineland Branch	3.50
Mrs. A. S. Osborn.....	2.00
Miss E. Fisher	1.00
Mrs. M. C. Reed.....	1.00
Miss M. H. Young.....	.25
Dr. W. T. Burch	5.00
Miss Katherine Boyle....	5.00
Miss Janet Boyle.....	5.00
Miss Irma Kirkman.....	5.00
Miss Minnie D. Abbott...	6.00
Collections	100.08

Contributions made to Connecticut Headuqarters:

Miss Clara Hill.....	5.00
Total	320.68
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	16,666.94

Branch Receipts:

Total collected by the Branches through September 4, 1916.....	16,987.62
Grand Total	$172,509.17

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Miss Eleanor A. Calnan	1
Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton	2
Miss Marie Schmidt	3
Miss Florence Gifford Bartlett	1
Mrs. Jessie Hardy Mackaye	1
Mrs. B. B. Huff	1
Miss Iris Calderhead	1
Miss Ella Riegel	1
Miss Vivian Pierce	3
Miss Anne Martin	1
Mrs. Ella St. Clair Thompson	1
Miss Elizabeth Smith	1
Mrs. Effa Funk Muhse	3
Miss Jane Pincus	1
Miss Ethel Ferry	2
Mrs. George W. Phelps	4
New Jersey branch, Congressional Union	5
Mrs. A. R. Colvin	1
Miss Mabel Vernon	4
Miss Alice Henkle	1
Mrs. Nancy Furst	1
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	3
Mrs. George Banschbach	2
Miss Mary Cameron	1
Miss S. C. Grant	1
Miss Cornelia Wyse	2
Miss Beulah Amidon	2
Miss Doris Stevens	2
Miss Cornelia Greenough	2
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	3
Miss Lizzie Collins	2
Total	57
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	3,676
Total through September 2d secured by members	3,733

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